

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 310877
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 310877

FOR THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS:PFOR, PDIP, UR, US

SUBJECT: DRAFT ARRIVAL AND PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS
STATEMENT

1. FOLLOWING IS APPROVED FINAL TEXT FOR ARRIVAL STATEMENT,
FORMAL REMARKS AT CREDENTIALS CEREMONY, AND TALKING POINTS
FOR INFORMAL DISCUSSION.

A. ARRIVAL STATEMENT

- BEGIN TEXT. IT GIVES ME GREAT SATISFACTION. PERSONALLY
AS WELL AS PROFESSIONALLY, TO RETURN TO THE SOVIET UNION.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 310877

- SINCE I LAST SERVED IN MOSCOW IN 1965 WE HAVE MADE REAL
PROGRESS IN BUILDING A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP WHICH SERVES
THE INTERESTS OF BOTH OUR NATIONS AND WORLD PEACE. THIS
PROGRESS BRINGS WITH IT SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES AS WELL AS
NEW OPPORTUNITIES. WE MUST STRIVE TO MAINTAIN A STEADY AND
BROADENING MOMENTUM, TO AVOID THE WIDE SWINGS OF EUPHORIA
AND CONFRONTATION WHICH HAVE MARKED OUR RELATIONS IN EARLIER
YEARS.

- I AM DEEPLY CONSCIOUS OF MY SHARE IN THIS RESPONSIBILITY

AS I TAKE UP MY DUTIES HERE IN MOSCOW. THE TASK BEFORE US IS NOT AN EASY ONE. THE SUSPICIONS AND RIVALRIES THAT HAVE MARKED OUR ENCOUNTERS IN THE PAST REPRESENT FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES. BUT THE PAST HAS ALSO DEMONSTRATED THAT WE CAN WORK TOGETHER AND ACHIEVE SOUND AGREEMENTS.

- WE WILL CONTINUE TO HAVE DIFFERENCES IN THE FUTURE. WHILE FRANKLY AIRING THESE DIFFERENCES WE MUST BUILD ON WHAT HAS ALREADY BEEN ACHIEVED AND CONTINUE TO STRIVE FOR A RELATIONSHIP BASED ON RESTRAINT AND MUTUAL BENEFIT. WE MUST ALWAYS BE CONSCIOUS OF THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH OUR ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER IMPOSE ON US AND NEVER LOSE SIGHT OF THE HUMANITARIAN INTEREST OF ALL OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY -- EAST AND WEST, NORTH AND SOUTH.

- I KNOW I SPEAK FOR MY FELLOW CITIZENS WHEN I SAY WE AMERICANS BEAR A DEEP AND ABIDING DESIRE TO CONTINUE AND BROADEN THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING RELATIONS ON WHICH WE HAVE MADE SUCH AN AUSPICIOUS BEGINNING. I SHALL DO MY BEST TOWARD THIS END.

B. PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS STATEMENT (UNDERSTAND THIS IS NORMALLY RELEASED TO PRESS IN MOSCOW AFTER PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS AND THUS WOULD APPRECIATE CONFIRMATION OF TEXT ACTUALLY USED).

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 310877

BEGIN TEXT: MR. CHAIRMAN; I HAVE THE HONOR TO PRESENT YOUR EXCELLENCY THE LETTER OF CREDENCE BY WHICH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ACCREDITS ME AS AMBASSADOR OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS. TOGETHER WITH THIS I PRESENT THE LETTER OF RECALL OF MY PREDECESSOR AMBASSADOR WALTER J. STOESEL.

- DURING THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS, MR. CHAIRMAN, OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS HAVE TAKEN IMPORTANT STEPS TO BUILD A MORE STABLE RELATIONSHIP. WE AMERICANS CONTINUE TO ATTACH PROFOUND IMPORTANCE TO THE TASK, AN IMPORTANCE WHICH TRANSCENDS PARTY AFFILIATION.

- JOINT SOVIET-AMERICAN EFFORTS HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED IN THE AGREEMENTS WE HAVE CONCLUDED IN RECENT YEARS, PARTICULARLY THOSE AIMED AT PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR AND LIMITING ARMAMENTS. BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE SHOWN THAT THEY ARE FULLY CONSCIOUS OF THE NEED FOR OUR TWO PEOPLES TO COOPERATE IN A WIDE RANGE OF ACTIVITIES.

- BUT THE PAST CAN ONLY BE PROLOGUE. THIS PROCESS OF IM-

PROVING RELATIONS IS BY NO MEANS AUTOMATIC OR SELF-PERPETUATING. IT REQUIRED THE EARNEST, SOBER AND REFLECTIVE LABOR OF SOVIET AND AMERICAN LEADERS TO BEGIN IT. TO CARRY IT FORWARD WILL BE JUST AS DEMANDING OF OUR ENERGIES, OUR CREATIVITY AND OUR DETERMINATION.

-OUR TWO COUNTRIES ARE BROADLY ENGAGED IN PROBLEMS AND UNDERTAKINGS WORLDWIDE AS WELL AS BETWEEN OUR TWO STATES AND PEOPLES. THE SIGNING A YEAR AND A HALF AGO OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE PLEDGED BOTH OF US, IN COMMON WITH THIRTY-THREE OTHER NATIONS OF EUROPE AND NORTH AMERICA, TO THE PROMOTION OF PEACE AND SECURITY IN EUROPE, TO COOP-
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 310877

ERATION IN THE FIELDS OF TRADE, INDUSTRY, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN CONCERNS. THIS PLEDGE NEEDS TO BE FULLY, CONCRETELY AND CONTINUOUSLY IMPLEMENTED.

- IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA, MY COUNTRY HAS UNDERTAKEN SERIOUS EFFORTS BASED UPON THE STRONG DESIRES OF THE PEOPLE THERE FOR LASTING PEACE AND EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT. I WOULD HOPE, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT THESE EFFORTS WILL MEET WITH THE UNDERSTANDING OF YOUR GOVERNMENT.

- AT VIENNA WE ARE NEGOTIATING, IN COMPANY WITH OUR ALLIES, A MUTUAL REDUCTION IN THE FORCES AND ARMAMENTS WE HAVE IN EUROPE. WE ARE ALSO NEGOTIATING FURTHER LIMITS ON STRATEGIC WEAPONS, AN AREA OF PARAMOUNT CONCERN TO THE FATE OF THE WORLD, AND ONE IN WHICH YOU AND WE SHARE UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITY. THE GOAL IS TO STRENGTHEN SECURITY AND ASSURE A LIFE OF PEACE AND PROGRESS.

- OUR POSITION AS THE TWO STRONGEST INDUSTRIAL POWERS OF THE WORLD ALSO GIVES US A UNIQUE RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE DEVELOPING WORLD, NOT ONLY TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL WORLD IN WHICH ALL CAN PROSPER BUT ALSO TO CONTRIBUTE TO CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION ON THE URGENT PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

-- IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS, THE FOUNDATIONS ARE ALREADY IN PLACE FOR EXPANDED ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LINKS BETWEEN OUR TWO PEOPLES AND I WOULD HOPE, MR. CHAIRMAN, THAT WE CAN PROMPTLY BUILD UPON THIS BASIS WITH NEW VIGOR AND IMAGINATION. THE MUTUAL BENEFITS ARE SELF-EVIDENT.

- BOTH OUR GOVERNMENTS HAVE PROFITED FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF REGULAR AND EXPANDING CONTACTS AND CONSULTATIONS. WE NEED TO PROMOTE OUR OPPORTUNITIES TO EXCHANGE VIEWS AND TO SEEK TO RESOLVE OUR DIFFERENCES. THOSE DIFFERENCES WHICH WE CANNOT RESOLVE NEED TO BE CLARIFIED SO THAT THEY CAN BE
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 310877

HANDLED WITH ALL POSSIBLE RESTRAINT.

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- THE LABORS BEFORE US, WHETHER THEY INVOLVE THE HIGH
RESOLVE OF INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS, THE VITAL CONCERN OF

ASSURING PEACE AND THE MOST CONSTRUCTIVE USE OF OUR RE-
SOURCES, THE MUTUAL BENEFITS OF TRADE AND OTHER EXCHANGES OR
THE DAY-TO-DAY AFFAIRS OF MEETING THE NEEDS OF OUR RESPEC-
TIVE DIPLOMATIC ESTABLISHMENTS, ALL REQUIRE OUR BEST EF-
FORTS. NOTHING IS UNIMPORTANT. HOW WELL WE DO OUR WORK, AS
WELL AS THE SPIRIT IN WHICH WE WORK, WILL DETERMINE THE
SUCCESS OF OUR EFFORTS TO FUTHER IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN
US. PEACE WILL BE SECURE ONLY WHEN THE INTERESTS OF ALL
ARE RESPECTED.

- AS I TAKE UP MY SERVICE HERE, I AM KEENLY AWARE OF THE
GOOD WORK MY PREDECESSOR, AMBASSADOR STOESSEL, HAS DONE TO
ADVANCE AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS. I ASSURE YOU, MR. CHAIR-
MAN, OF MY BEST EFFORTS AND THOSE OF ALL IN MY MISSION TO
THE SAME HIGH PURPOSE.

- IN RETURNING TO THE SOVIET UNION, MR. CHAIRMAN, I FOLLOW
A LONG STANDING INTEREST I HAVE HAD IN YOUR COUNTRY, AND A
PERSONAL COMMITMENT TO BETTER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING. I
LOOK FORWARD TO RENEWING MY ACQUAINTANCE WITH YOUR GREAT
LAND AND ITS TALENTED PEOPLE.

2. FOLLOWING ARE DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR USE DURING IN-
FORMAL DISCUSSION FOLLOWING PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS:

-- WE ARE NOW IN A POSITION OF TRANSITION IN OUR GOVERNMENT
AS POWER IS TRANSFERRED FROM ONE ADMINISTRATION TO ANOTHER.
THIS IS ALWAYS AN IMPORTANT TIME FOR RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR
TWO COUNTRIES AS THE TONE WE SET AT THE OUTSET CAN HAVE AN
IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL AND PRACTICAL EFFECT.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 310877

-- YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE ALREADY NOTED THE STRONG ELE-
MENT OF CONTINUITY IN THE FOREIGN POLICY AIMS OF THE NEW
ADMINISTRATION. THIS IS TRADITIONAL BECAUSE OF OUR STRONG
TRADITION OF BIPARTISANSHIP IN FOREIGN POLICY.

-- BECAUSE FOREIGN POLICY MUST BE SUPPORTED BY A BROAD BI-
PARTISAN CONSENSUS, THE NEED TO COMMAND PUBLIC AND CONGRES-
SIONAL SUPPORT IS AN IMPORTANT DETERMINANT OF OUR POLICIES
AFTER ELECTIONS AS WELL AS BEFORE THEM.

-- I KNOW THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT WAS DISTURBED BY THE DEBATE
ON FOREIGN POLICY WHICH HAS BEEN GOING ON IN THE US IN RE-

CENT MONTHS. BUT I WOULD URGE YOU NOT TO DISMISS THE CONCERNS THAT WERE VOICED AS SIMPLE ELECTION RHETORIC.

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-- THE STEPS WE TOOK IN 1972, 1973 AND 1974 WERE HIGHLY VISIBLE AND SUCCESSFUL. BUT THE PROCESS WE WERE EMBARKING ON WAS BOUND TO BECOME PROGRESSIVELY MORE CHALLENGING.

-- INITIAL ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS WERE MORE SYMBOLIC IN NATURE, BUT AS THE PROCESS ADVANCED WE BEGAN TO DEAL WITH CONCRETE RESTRAINTS AND REDUCTIONS.

-- THE 1972 DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OF US-USSR RELATIONS WAS AN IMPORTANT STEP IN SETTING GUIDELINES FOR A MORE POSITIVE AND STABLE RELATIONSHIP, BUT NOW SPECIFIC EVIDENCE OF INCREASED MUTUAL RESTRAINT AND CONSULTATION IS EXPECTED.

-- INITIAL STEPS UNDER THE BILATERAL COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS WERE LARGELY CEREMONIAL BUT NOW OUR SCIENTISTS AND RESEARCHERS ARE BEGINNING TO PRODUCE AND EXPECT RESULTS FROM PROJECTS WE HAVE INITIATED.

-- AND THE SIGNING OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CSCE CREATED
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 310877

EXPECTATIONS THAT PROGRESS IN HUMANITARIAN AFFAIRS WOULD ACCOMPANY PROGRESS IN THE AREAS OF COMMERCE AND SECURITY, A GOAL WHICH IS WIDELY SUPPORTED IN THE US.

-- THUS AN IMPORTANT JUNCTURE IN THE PROCESS OF IMPROVING OUR RELATIONS COINCIDES WITH THE TRANSITION IN POWER IN MY COUNTRY. WHAT IS REQUIRED FROM BOTH SIDES IS THAT WE UNDERSTAND THE REASONS FOR THE DIFFICULTIES THAT CONFRONT US AND WORK WITH ENERGY AND IMAGINATION TO OVERCOME THEM. CONSOLIDATION OF WHAT WE HAVE ACCOMPLISHED IS IMPORTANT. BUT IT IS NOT ENOUGH; WE MUST BOTH DEAL WITH THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE PROCESS ITSELF HAS BROUGHT TO THE SURFACE AND EXTEND OUR EFFORTS TO NEW FIELDS. I PLEDGE MY BEST EFFORTS - AND THOSE OF MY MISSION - TO THIS PROCESS.
ROBINSON

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